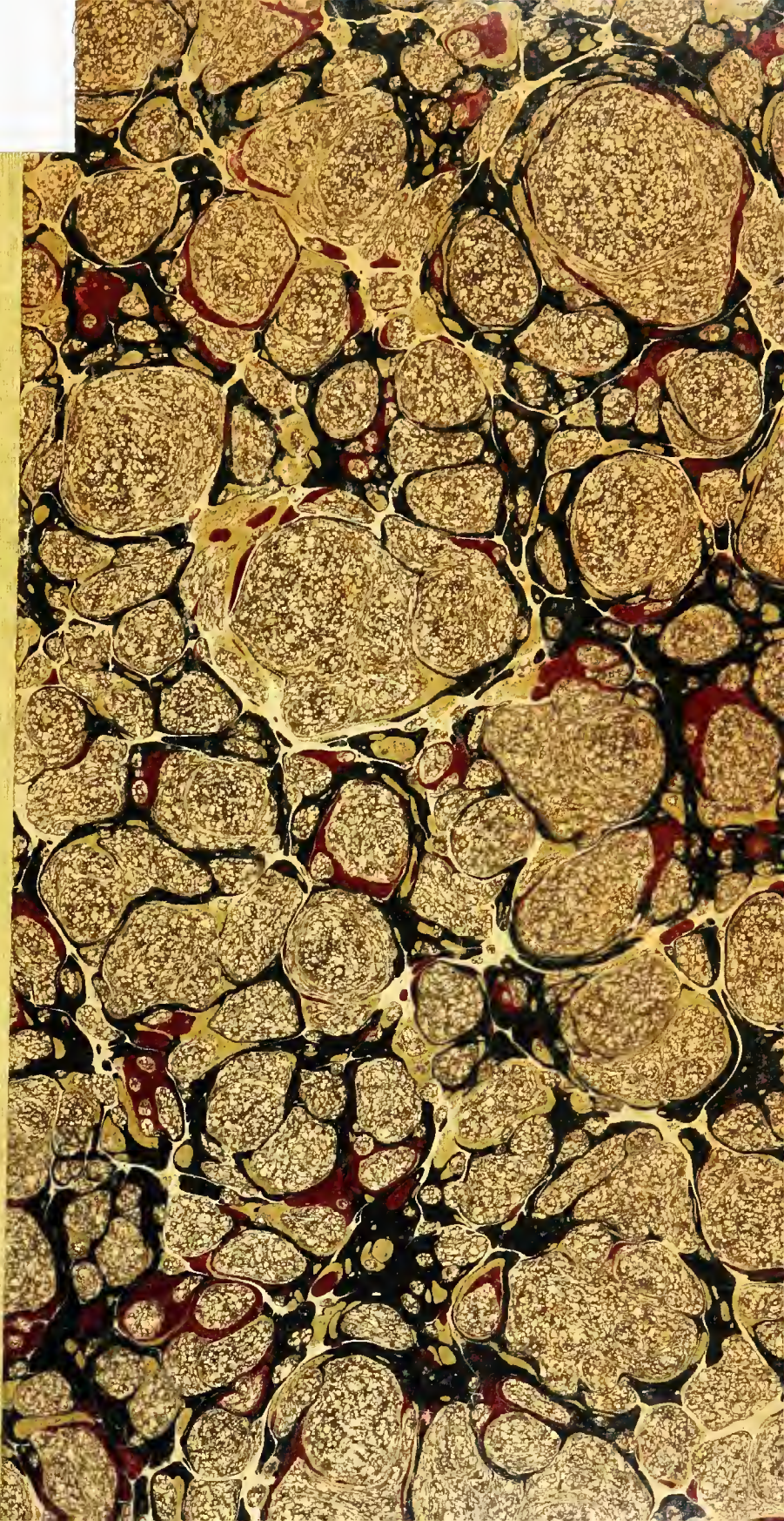


PJ  
1681  
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SPIEGELBERG, Translation of hieratic papyri.



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MUSEUM REPORT, No. 5.  
MAYER COLLECTION REPORT, No. 1.

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TRANSLATION OF HIERATIC P<sub>Y</sub>RI,  
MAYER A. & B.,

BY

WILHELM SPIEGELBERG, STUD. PHIL.,  
STRASSBURG.

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LIVERPOOL:  
J. B. WILLIAMS & CO., PRINTERS, 8, SCHOOL LANE.

1891.

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A. 163858

*To Mr. Peter Entwistle, Assistant Curator, Mayer Museum.*

MOST HONORED SIR,

The completion of the promised work has occupied me longer than I had expected ; perhaps, however, not long enough. For a still closer and more prolonged study might perhaps have thrown light on some points which in my translation remain dark. But the wish to discharge as soon as possible the debt of thanks which I owe to the Directors of your Museum has impelled me to lift without further delay the veil from this treasure of which Liverpool is so justly proud. Some twenty years ago, as you are aware, your countryman, the lamented Goodwin, directed the attention of scholars to this Papyrus in two articles in the Berlin Journal of Egyptology, and interpreted its contents with the acumen which he possessed in so rare a degree. Professor Eisenlohr of Heidelberg, at a meeting of the Congress of Orientalists in Vienna in 1886, came to a discussion of the Liverpool Papyrus, but because of the imperfection of the copies at his disposal was unable to reach any more definite results than those of Goodwin. The accompanying complete translation is based upon an exact study, during eight days, of the original Papyrus, which was made possible to me only through the unsurpassed kindness and courtesy of the Directors of the Museum. My translation, made in German, has been re-translated into English by a friend and fellow-student, Mr. Charles Torrey, to whom I take this opportunity of expressing my warmest thanks.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) In accordance with the wish of Herr Spiegelberg, the translation has been made to follow the original as closely as possible, even at a sacrifice of English idiom.—*The English Translator*.

The events described in our Papyrus fall in the reign of Rameses X, one of the last Pharaohs of the XXth Dynasty (c. 1080 B.C.)—The scene is Thebes, the capital of Egypt at that time. This will suffice for the understanding of what follows. And now we will let the Papyrus speak for itself after its silence of almost thirty centuries.<sup>(2)</sup>

## PAPYRUS MAYER A.

### I.

“ In the first year of the reign of Rameses X, on the 15th of Mesore, on this day were brought to trial those who had committed theft in the tombs of the king, the mighty God, Rameses II, and in the temple of the king Sety I, which lies by the treasury of the temple of Rameses III. Namely those thieves, against whom the Prefect of Police Nessuamon had given information in the list of names; for he had himself stood among them as they laid hands on the tombs.

As they were brought to trial, the rack was applied to their hands and feet, to make them give an exact account of the manner of their crime.”

Here follow the names of the members  
of the Trial Commission :

“Ranebmanachtu, Prefect of the City and Governor, Ramenmanachtu, Lord of the Treasury and of the Granaries, Yny,<sup>(3)</sup> Lord High Steward and Royal Seal Officer<sup>(4)</sup>

Rameryamon, Fan-bearer to Pharaoh, Overseer of the Palace, and Royal Seal-Officer, the Secretary of Pharaoh

### THE TRIAL.

Pikamen,<sup>(5)</sup> one of the Overseers of the Herds of the god Amon, was

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(2) In the translation, uncertain words or expressions are marked by an asterisk \*, untranslated passages by dots ....., destroyed passages by a dash ———. The letter N is used for proper names where the reading is uncertain.

(3) A non-Egyptian name.

(4) This is the interpretation given by the well-known Egyptologist Brugsch, in his recent excellent work, “Die Aegyptologie,” page 227, where a detailed explanation of the title may be found.

(5) The title which stands here and in many other places in the document I have preferred to leave untranslated, because of uncertainty as to its meaning.

brought forward. He was made to take oath by the name of the king that he would speak no untruth. They said to him : How didst thou go with those who were with thee, to commit this theft in the Royal tombs which lie by the treasury of Rameses III ? He said : I went with the priest Toschere "and five others," six in all. The Prefect of Police Nessuamon was brought forward. They said to him : In what way didst thou find these men ? He said : I heard that the men were going in haste to steal from this tomb. So I went thither and found these six men. Pikamen has told the truth. And I brought them to trial on that day. . . . . The thief Pikamen, Guardsman of the temple of Amon, Overseer of the Herds of Amon, was then examined by beating with the stick. The bastinade was given upon his feet and hands. He swore : May I be put to death if I lie ! I did exactly what I have told you. He reaffirmed it with his mouth, saying : I did what they did. I was with these six men, and I took an<sup>(6)</sup> object and took possession of it.

The thief Nessumontu was brought forward. He was examined by beating with the stick. The bastinade was given upon his feet and hands. He swore : May I be put to death if I lie ! They said to him : What was the manner of the theft which thou and thy companions committed in the tomb ? He said : I went and found these men. I was the sixth ; and I took away an<sup>(6)</sup> object and took possession of it.

## II.

The Guardsman Kalu, of the temple of Amon, was brought forward. He was examined by beating with the stick. The bastinade was given upon his feet and hands. He swore : May I be put to death if I lie ! They said to him : What was the manner of thy going, with these thy companions, to steal from the tomb ? He said : N. gave me some grain to carry, and I got possession

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(6) The word occurs only in this passage, and its signification is not yet determined.

of a sack and a certain<sup>(7)</sup> kind of grain. As I descended, I heard the voices of the men who were in this granary. I looked into the cave and saw there Pibok and Toschere. I called to him: Holla! He came forth to me, with two pieces\* of copper in his hands. These he gave to me, and I gave him in return 1½ sacks of spelt. One of these pieces I kept for myself, the other I gave to Anefsu.

The priest Nesuamon, son of Pibok, was brought forward on account of his father. He was examined by beating with the stick. They said to him: Tell us how thy father went with those men who were his companions. He said: My father was there, truly; but as I was then but a child, I do not know the way he did it. He was (further) examined and said: I saw the workman Ahutinofer together with the guardsman Nofer, son of Merwêr\* and the workman N., three in all. I saw them distinctly. It is true that gold was being carried away, and these (three men) I know. He was examined by beating and said: These three men I saw distinctly.

Wonpehnti, son of Todeby,\* Temple Weaver, was brought forward. He was examined by beating with the stick. The bastinade was given upon his feet and hands. He was made to take oath by the name of the king that he would speak no untruth. They said to him: How did thy father go, with his companions, to commit this theft? He said: My father was killed, while I was but a child, and my mother told me: The Prefect of Police took away some pieces\* of copper belonging to thy father and the Mercenary officers killed thy father. They suppressed the investigation and Nesuamon took the copper and delivered it to me. It remains (now) in the possession of my mother.

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(7) Here, again the exact meaning of the word is unknown.



## III.

Anury, one of the women of the city, the courtesan of the priest Toschere, son of Zoda, was brought forward. She was examined by beating with the stick. The bastinado was given upon her feet and hands. She was made to take oath by the name of the king, that she would speak no untruth. They said to her: In what way did thy husband (*sic!*) break into the tombs and take away the copper? She said: He took some of the copper which belonged in these tombs, and we sold it and spent it.

On the 17th of Mesore were brought to trial certain of the men who had stolen from the Necropolis.”

The trial was concerning five thieves, and after the usual legal forms with which the reader is already acquainted, their acquittal is declared in the words “he was found innocent of the thefts; he was set at liberty.” The record in the case of the fifth thief is somewhat different.

“Pennestitowe, the Butcher, son of Besa, was brought forward. The . . . . . Pirpithêw\* of the temple of Amon, had said: He was in these places, though I did not see him with my eye. He was examined by beating with the stick and the bastinado was given upon his feet and hands. He was made to take oath by the name of the king that he would speak no untruth. They said to him: How didst thou go with Buchaaf to those places where, according to the statement of this . . . . . Pirpithêw,\* thou wast? He said: He has lied; for he did not see it. Then the . . . . . Pirpithêw\* was brought forward and they said to him: What hast thou to testify? He said: Woe to these men! The guardsman Buchaaf stole a bullock from the stall-master Ahutinofer, . . . . . together with the chief butcher\* Amenchêw, son of Zoda. Then said the Princes (*i.e.*, the Judges): Let

Buchaaf be brought forward! He was brought, and they said to him: What hast thou to testify? He said: He (Pennestitowe) was not with me. Alas, for what has happened! I saw him with Amenchêw, son of Zoda, and Nessuamon, son of Azedo.

## IV.

## THE 16TH OF MESORE.

In the second year of King Rameses X. were the thieves again brought to trial. The priest Piwonki, son of Amenhotep, of the temple of (the goddess) Mut was brought forward. He was again examined by beating with the stick, and swore: May I be put to death, if I lie! They said to him: At the time when thou first stoodest before the Judges, and it was said to thee: Tell in what way thou wentest, thou saidst nothing and wouldst not declare the robbery which thy hand had committed. Fearful is the trial to which thou shalt be brought; for evil was the deed which thou didst. He said: I did not see. . . . . He was examined by beating with the stick, with a complete bastinado, for the second time. He said: I did not see. Woe unto you! and uttered cries of pain. He was once more brought to trial and spoke, after which he was examined again.

The cook Nespicha was brought forward. He was examined by beating with the stick. He was made to take oath by the name of the king that he would speak no untruth. They said to him: Tell us how thou camest to the heap of silver, which thou gavest to N. and the four heaps of silver, which thou gavest to the husband of Tibok. He said: I will tell you how I came to it. But they found falsehood in his statement, and they put him to the torture.<sup>(8)</sup> Then he said: I took them from the Maschwascha.<sup>(9)</sup>

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(8) The expression in the original refers to a particular manner of torture.

(9) Name of a Libyan Mercenary troop.

The Writer of accounts Onchefenamou, son of Pta<sup>h</sup>em<sup>h</sup>eb, was brought forward. He was examined by beating with the stick. The bastinado was given upon his feet and hands. He swore: May I be put to death, if I lie! They said to him: Tell, how thou camest with thy brother to the places? He said: Let a witness be brought to accuse me! He was examined again and said: I did not see him (*i.e.* my brother). He was given over to the guard to be examined.

Chonsumes, the sailor, son of Panozem, was brought forward. They said to him: How didst thou go, to bring the silver? He was examined by beating with the stick. He said: Hear! I was going with the Storehouse workman Afmontu and he said: Silver has been given to Nespicha for beer. He was severely examined by beating and given over to the guard.

The Storehouse workman Afmontu, of the temple of Montu, Lord of Hermonthis, was brought forward. They said to him: What hast thou to say concerning that which the sailor Nesuamon has said, he who brought thee and thy companions to this side (of the Nile; *i.e.*, to the Necropolis of Thebes), and who (now) comes to accuse thee; for thou saidst: Let some one be brought to accuse me? The sailor Nessuamon was brought forward to accuse him and said: I am he who brought him over with the guardsman Ahymou<sup>h</sup>. He was examined again and given over to the guard."

## V.

Then follows an account of the trial of three men, the proceedings being conducted in the forms already known to the reader. Worthy of notice among these men is a certain Chief-Baker, whose name Kerbaal (*i.e.*, "Baal calls") has a distinctly Phœnician sound. To the question of the judges, what he had to testify, he answered: "Montuseonch seized the Storehouse workman Af-

enmontu and N., and examined them, saying: What did you bring from thence? I did not see it with my eye. He was examined by beating with the stick and given over to the guard.

The Secretary Toschere was brought forward, and they said to him: What hast thou to testify? He said:  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Ten<sup>(10)</sup> of silver were given to me. See, 10 ket still remained. But as for their statement, let it be examined." He was examined and given over to the guard."

This lot also fell to his three companions.

"Sechahetiamon was brought forward. They said to him: What hast thou to testify? He said: As for that which I have declared before, that I say (now) also. He was examined by beating with the stick. They said to him: What hast thou to testify? He said: I gave some grain, three sacks, to the Guardsman of the Necropolis, Pinofer, and he gave me in return two ket of gold. I took them from him, although the deed was evil. I did not meet him, but the Guardsman Ahymuh came forth, as I was entering a storehouse. I heard them, as they were standing disputing about silver, saying: Let no one defraud his companion!"

The following three persons, Pikamon of the archives of Amon, Thanany,\* workman of the Necropolis, and the Inspector Pïre-secher, priest of (the god) Chonsu, were given over to the guard after the customary examination.

## VI.

"The men who were brought to trial bound\*: Achumenu, Inspector of Fields, was brought forward. They said to him: How camest thou to this silver, which according to the statement of Buchaaf was given to thee? He said: I received 5 ket of gold, 1 ten of silver and two bullocks from Buchaaf and

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(10 A Weight, = 10 Ket. 1 Ket = about 91 grams.

I received 2 ten of silver from Amenchew, son of Mutemwa. The sum of that which was in his possession was 5 ket of gold, 3 ten of silver and two bullocks. Then said the Governor to him: Give us the silver. He said: I have (already) given it.”

The three following accused were acquitted after a short trial.

“Pias, son of Pikiny, of the temple of Amon, was brought to trial. They said to him: What hast thou to say concerning this silver, which Buchaaf gave to thee? He said: I received 2 ten of silver and gave a return for it. He was set at liberty.”

The trial of the two others differs from this in no important respect.

#### VII.

The last column of our leaf bears the superscription: “In the second year, on the 13th of Thot. The names of the thieves from the tombs of Pharaoh.”

Here follows a list of the names of fourteen persons, one of them a woman. After this follows a list of the names of eight persons (one of them a woman) brought together under the rubric, “Persons who were arrested on the 10 + Xth<sup>(11)</sup> of Paophi.”

#### VIII.

The following passage does not follow the preceding directly, although its contents are very similar. Several lines are wanting at the beginning.

————— “What has happened! They say he went with me, but he did not go with me. He was examined again by beating with the stick. They said to him: Name the other places which thou didst open. He said: I opened this tomb of the King’s wife Nesmut, and it was I who opened the tomb of Bakwernur, wife of king Sety I, three in all.

(11) The latter part of the number is destroyed.

The governor said to him: Tell me whence thou tookest this silver!"

The answer to this question contains mention of the objects stolen (gold, silver, stuffs), which the thieves had divided equally among themselves.

"Oscheftamonemwêse said: As for those things concerning which Buchaaf has declared that they are in the hand\* of Amennachtu, his sister gave them to the steward."

The two following accused were summoned on the ground of charges made by the slave Degasy. The first is a slave Amenpatobe, the second "the Sandal-bearer<sup>(12)</sup> Bakahtinofer under the direction of the Governor of Aethiopia". After the customary tortures and oath, he is asked:

"What hadst thou to do with the tombs of Pharaoh, which thou didst rob? He said: That is a lie. I did not see them. Let the Inspector of the city be brought (to bear witness). I stood by certain . . . . with certain stonemasons.\*"

Degasy himself is now brought and confesses that he did not see the accused, who is accordingly acquitted. Wonuamon, "Mason of the temple of Amon" is in like manner acquitted.

## IX.

The next column continues the trial in the same monotonous strain. The trial of a certain "fisherman of the prince of the city" may perhaps be specially mentioned.

"He was examined by beating with the stick. The bastinado was given upon his feet and hands. He was made to take oath that he would speak no untruth, and they said to him: How didst thou carry the thieves across (the Nile)? He said: I carried the thieves

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(12) A very similar title occurs on a stele (154) in your Museum, belonging to the reign of Amenophis III

across, and they gave me a sack of grain and two loaves of bread. There were found (on the thieves) two ket of gold. He was set at liberty."

Then follows the trial of three men. To the last of them, "the Guardsman Nessuamon of the Temple of Amon under the direction of the Overseer of the herds of Amon," was said after the customary legal forms: "Thou didst dwell with Ahy-mu<sup>h</sup>, this brother of Afenamou, who is an officer of the mercenaries. Thou wast with him in these places. He said: That is a lie. I did not see him and I did not go with him. He was examined by beating. The rack was applied to his feet and hands. He was found innocent of the thefts and was set at liberty.

## X.

The column which follows bears the superscription

"The thieves of the Necropolis, who were tried, who were found on the spot."

There follows accordingly a list of the names of twenty thieves.

## XI.

The XIth column contains also a list of

"The thieves from the Tombs in the second month, on the tenth day."

On the margin there is also a list of women who were thrown into prison. These are for the most part the wives of the thieves.

## XII.

"The trial of certain thieves from the tombs. Nesamon, son of Pibok, said: I saw A<sup>h</sup>utinofer and N. Let them be brought forward! A<sup>h</sup>utinofer, son of Amenchêw, was then brought forward. He was made to take oath by the name of the king, that he would speak no untruth. He was put on trial and

said: Certain men came, as I had taken possession of the place, and persecuted certain of my father's servants. And Pihati, one of the men, seized me and dragged me away to Apap<sup>(12a)</sup> . . . . .  
 . . . . . (And after some time) the tombs were plundered and they took possession of them. Just as they had finished,\* the prince of the Necropolis, Pismennechtu the secretary of the Treasury, N., the Writer of Accounts and Zodamon came and took from me the wood which belonged to the Storehouse. I had not set fire to it; but they brought in certain men and secretly set fire to it. As for the place where the other tombs are, the firewood of the mason lay there, as I came to cut wood. He said: Let the witness be brought! Nesamon son of Pibok was brought forward and they said to him: What hast thou to say to these three men of whom thou hast spoken? He said: They were seen as they were hastening to this burial place. (He was asked:) What happened? (He answered:) They were seen as they were opening this Storehouse. However I did not see them as they were opening this Storehouse. I said it out of fear.<sup>(13)</sup> Alutinofer was brought forward, and they said to him: Thou didst go into this storechamber. He said: I stored there wood and coals, belonging to the temple, which lay in the stall, as the guardsman of this storehouse has announced.\*

A n e f s u        w a s        b r o u g h t        f o r w a r d .  
 He was made to take oath by the name of the king that he would speak no untruth. He was put on trial, and said: As I was sitting there, Kalu brought\* some grain. And as I descended, I found the priest Toschere and the Secretary Pibok, who were standing there and plundering in the Storehouse, and I saw them stan-

(12a) A Village in the neighbourhood of Thebes.

(13) As Chief of Police, Nesamon had the duty of bringing all such matters at once to the notice of the authorities, even if his information came from a third party. If he neglected this he was severely punished. Hence this last sentence.



ding at the bolt of the door. They brought me about eight pieces\* of copper and two sticks of wood and gave them to me together with Kalu. . . .  
 . . . . . I paid for it, I do not know how much.\*”

Our trial closes with the examination of a man, named Userhatnachtu.

#### PAPYRUS MAYER B.

The last leaf, judging from the chirography, does not belong with the two which we have considered, although its contents are very similar. It contains the testimony of a man whose name is lost together with the first lines of the leaf. The reader however will have no difficulty in understanding the part that is preserved. Whoever has read or heard accounts of the modern discoveries in Egypt, will see in the Fellahs now engaged in the search for antiquities, true pictures of their forefathers. But to return to our document.

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“ ————— copper, 150 ten. I quarreled with him and said to him : . . . . . Woe to the division which thou hast made with me ! Thou tookest three parts and gavest me only one. Thus I spake to thee. And we measured the silver, which we had found, and it amounted to 3 ten of silver. So he left 1 ten 5 ket of silver and had (himself) taken 1 ten five ket.

After certain days came Pias to the dwelling of Nessuamon and found the things lying there, and took possession of them. Then Nessuamon sent to me with the word : Up ! (As I came to him) there sat Pias by him and said to him : As for the silver which thou and I found, thou gavest me none of it. I am going to the policemen, (namely) those of the Prince of the Necropolis, to tell of it. Thus he spake to us. And we sought to pacify him, and said to him : Take for thy

self what has been found, but bring on thy part (that which is in thy possession)! Thus we spake to him. After certain days we made common cause with Pias, the smith Pentahatnachtu, the smith Hora, and Nessuamon, five men in all. . . . I went alone . . . ——— the sepulchre of the King Amenophis III., the mighty god. And we said to Nessuamon: Where is the Mescher\* (a title) who was with thee? He said to us: The Mescher\* has been killed together with Pibok, the little,<sup>(14)</sup> who was with us. For he did not let us out.<sup>(15)</sup> Thus he spake to us. And I spent three days in boring there. On the fifth day we opened the sepulchre and entered it. There we found a chest, which lay ——— [And we] opened it.”

The contents of this chest (bowls, drinking cups, bracelets, garments and fine linen)<sup>(16)</sup> are stated in the last four lines.

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It would be like carrying coals to Newcastle, if I should attempt to add anything concerning the importance of our Papyrus, which has already spoken for itself.

I will remark however, that it forms a part of the legal documents contained in the Egyptian Collection of the British Museum, which are as yet mostly unpublished. These also I was permitted to study on the spot last summer through the kindness of the Directors Le Page Renouf and Dr. Budge. A closer examination of the connection of our Papyrus with the others might well lead to a clearing up of the uncertainty in which its origin is veiled. I intend to make this the subject of special investigation in the next few years.

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(14) A common appellation.

(15) *i.e.*, Out of the tomb.

(16) Some of the words here occur only in this passage.

In all these documents we are allowed glimpses into the social conditions of Egypt at the end of the XXth Dynasty. The sight is a mournful one ; for we see the symptoms of a State already sick unto death. Such pains as these a skilled physician can mitigate for a time, but not cure. At last, under the Psammetichids (663-625 B.C.), after many a storm, just as the kingdom seemed to have again reached its former glory, the finishing stroke came. The Persian king trod the soil of Egypt with his victorious army and the succession of foreign rulers began, under whose sway the dwellers in the Nile valley have bowed their necks until the present time.

So much for the present concerning our Papyrus ! And now, my dear Sir, I have the honour to sign myself,

Yours respectfully,

WILHELM SPIEGELBERG.

Strassburg <sup>4</sup>/Elsass, Feb. 5, 1891.



*W.*

Aus einem Briefe des Herrn ~~H.~~ Spiegelberg



an C. Bezold.

Strassburg i. E., 24. 2. 1891.

..... Auf einem der Ostraca, welche ich im letzten Sommer im Brit. Museum kopierte, fand ich unter dem zusammenhanglosen Gekritzelt eines ägyptischen Schreibers den Namen





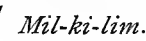
‘r - d’ - d’ - m,

der wohl zweifelsohne die ägyptische Umschrift des aus den Amarna-Briefen bekannten mitannischen Namens *Artatama* ist.  ‘ und  ’ drücken in dieser Transcription die Vokale aus. Nach dem Schriftcharacter zu urtheilen, gehört das Ostracon etwa dem Ende der Dynastie XIX an, jener Zeit, in der wir in Aegypten auf Schritt und Tritt fremden Einflüssen begegnen. Der eben erwähnte Name lehrt uns, dass sich unter den vielen Ausländern, welche damals im Nilthale weilten, auch Angehörige des Landes Mitanni befanden . .

### Milkili.

Von C. Bezold.

Die Lesung des Namens des bekannten Briefstellers einiger el-Amarna-Tafeln, für die ich zwischen *Milkili* und *Iskili* schwankte (*Allg. Zeitung* 1888, *Beil.*, S. 4282), während WINCKLER *Iskili* las (*ÄZ* 1889, S. 57; *Inhaltsverz.* zu *Thontafelf.* II 2), wird zu Gunsten BUDGE's (PSBA 1888, pp. 543, 547) entschieden durch Berlin (WINCKLER), Nr. 149, Z. 6: , d. i. *Mi-il-ki-ili*; Z. 16 ibidem bietet die gewöhnliche Orthographie des ersten Elements:

, und Nr. 199, Z. 12:  *Mil-ki-lim*.











